

THE NEW YORK PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Diplomatic Diet-Eating.

From the Tribune. "Sir," said somebody here in New York to Mr. Thackeray, "what do you think in England of Mr. Tupper?" "Sir," responded the great novelist, "in England, we don't think of Mr. Tupper at all." Mr. Seward, when he wrote, under the seal of State, to all our envoys and plenipotentiaries, consuls and ambassadors in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa, to know what the inhabitants of those parts thought of Mr. Johnson, was more fortunate in the responses which he elicited, and which his official and affectionate soul desired. The lights, large and little, of the legations came to time with praiseworthy promptness and precision. By a sort of humble instinct, like that which characterizes the hen and the flunkies of the kitchen and the pantry, the servants of the State divined the frankness which would be agreeable to the leading nostrils in Washington, and sent home answers perfumed with praise and approbation.

The Senate, pained that these precious despatches should waste their sweetness in Mr. Seward's musty closets, called last January, by resolution, for this beautiful batch of letters, and, having received, has now printed them for the approbation and admiration of the world, to say nothing of the edification of those who think that the proper study of mankind is man. From the frozen climate of Russia, from the venerable and historic haunts of Rome, from the gay and smiling shores of the Bay of Naples, from the bustling and teeming London, and from fair and smiling Florence, from the city of Constantinople, and from wintry Copenhagen, comes documentary evidence that "My Polley" is lauded in every latitude, and eulogized with polyglot unanimity. The considerate Ministers send nothing but their own sweet approval, and that of their neighbors.

Even conversions are not uncommon. On the 23rd of October, 1855, Mr. Cassius M. Clay writes from St. Petersburg (and this despatch seems to have been written in the city) in favor of universal suffrage, without distinction of color or sex, as a condition of the restoration of the Rebel States. On the 7th of February, 1866, a change has come over the spirit of his dream. He is still in favor of manhood suffrage, but he isn't half so strong in his opinion as he was before. He is willing to have the Rebel States come in without it. *Faciès desensu Avern!* On the 12th of March he writes to say that the veto of the Freedmen's Bureau bill has filled him with pleasure, and to ostentatiously put himself upon the record of standing by the President. Says Mr. Clay, and he italicizes the declaration: "So it seems, Russia is a famous country for soap, and our Minister there has become acquainted at least with its metaphorical uses!"

All the letters are one way. In Rome the Pope admires Mr. Johnson, according to Mr. Rufus King. In Brussels (as Mr. Sandford sends word) Mr. Johnson was toasted as a wise and moderate Christian patriot. Mr. Bigelow sends from Paris eight pages of newspaper puff, and every puff is in honor of Mr. Johnson, except one from the ultramontane *Le Monde*, which blows him up (singularly enough) for his "radical and philanthropic theories." Mr. Adams (June 21, 1866) reports that the policy of the President is more warmly admired in England than it seems to be at home; and we think that Mr. Adams is right. In Florence (according to Mr. George P. Marsh) the veto of the Freedmen's Bureau bill was "universally approved; while the 'wisdom' of the President has been cheerfully cheered the exile of Mr. E. Joy Morris, who, under the shadow of the mosques and minarets at Constantinople, read Mr. Johnson's Message and was proudly glad.

We can imagine the contented complacency with which Mr. Seward perused these letters, and congratulated himself upon his well-disciplined and obedient band of diplomatists. Alas! there is no pleasure in this world upon the perpetuity of which mortals can safely reckon. There was a citizen of the United States in Paris, who had been peeping and eavesdropping about the different legations, and who had written to Mr. Seward that our Ministers abroad didn't reverence Mr. Johnson half so heartily as the contents of their despatch-boxes would seem to indicate. The moment of receiving this lacerating information must have been a dreadful one, and the feelings of the Secretary, we can easily imagine, were a sort of compound of the gnawings of the serpent's tooth and the operations of ipecacuanha. Without losing a moment, he constructed a circular letter. He asked Morris at Constantinople, Murphy at Frankfurt, Hale at Madrid, Perry at Tunis, and McMath at Tangiers; he asked each of these gentlemen if they could possibly have been so lost to all sense of decency, dignity, godliness, propriety, virtue, patriotism, and prudence, as to speak disrespectfully of Andrew Johnson. Honest John P. Hale was the first to answer from Madrid, with the bravery and bluntness of a Spanish bull, giving Mr. Seward's feelings from the lie direct, and courting and soliciting the very fullest investigation. Mr. Murphy at Frankfurt pleads not guilty, and sends an affidavit to back up his plea. In the extremity of his distress he forwards a supplementary letter to Mr. F. W. Seward, asking that mercy of the son which he might fail to obtain from the inexorable sire. Mr. McMath, at Tangiers, is quite oriental in the fervor of his disclaimer. Mr. Perry, at Tunis, says, with simple dignity, "It is enough for me to declare my loyalty to the Government and my uprightness as a subordinate officer under the President." Thank you, Mr. Perry! We were getting a little quizzish, and your reply is invigorating. Morris at Constantinople vindicates himself—tells, with tears in his eyes, how he has defended the President in the *Levant Herald*, and gives a speech which he made to a deputation, in which he declared Mr. Johnson to be "a man of exemplary habits and life"—"of striking propriety of demeanor and conduct"—"possessed of extraordinary energy and fortitude of spirit"—"equal to any emergency"—"of a high order of talent and character"—"of a broad and statesmanlike spirit." But we need not quote any more of Mr. Morris' adjectives. He is entitled to the praise of eating the very largest toad, and of making the fewest faces over it.

But we think that we have said enough of this somewhat unpleasant pamphlet. The diplomatic service of the country in former years has suffered sadly in its reputation abroad, through the ignorance, the vices, and the clownishness of a few of our representatives. We hope and believe that the days of such men are over; and that we shall never again have a Minister bawling, half drunk, from a tavern balcony, or keeping a harem

under the very nose of royalty. There are moral vices which are less disgusting, but not less dangerous. Very respectable men may have a species of fatal flexibility, and the afflicted had better stay at home to be doctored and to be nursed.

The National Debt—Needless Alarm for its Premature Payment.

Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, is alarmed lest our national debt should be paid too soon. He has fallen into the habit of introducing resolutions into Congress protesting against its payment "by this generation." Congress hesitates about passing them, and the *Tribune* hails this hesitation as the dawn of a financial millennium. It declares Mr. Kelley's proposition to be "not much better than qualified repudiation"—and insists that the debt must be paid at once—"by those who contracted it, not by their posterity."

Mr. Kelley's alarm is as absurd as the *Tribune's* political economy. If he will be patient, he will soon recover from it. "This generation" is much more likely to double the debt than to pay it. The country has been amused with the idea that we are paying it off at the rate of a hundred or a hundred and fifty millions a year; but it forgets that we are increasing it quite as fast in other directions. The Bounty bill of 1866 added about eighty millions. Another is under way which will add from two to four hundred millions more. Mr. Schenk says this bill will do "to begin with," and General Banks pledges himself to vote for whatever sum the soldiers want—he does not care whether it is four or eight hundred millions of dollars. Mr. Williams, of Pennsylvania, has presented another, and Mr. Payham, of Maine, still another bill of the same sort. The soldiers constitute a powerful part of the great body of voters. They have one common interest, and nothing is more certain than that just so long as aspiring partisans want their votes, just so long will millions be voted out of the public Treasury for the purpose of securing them. Neither party in Congress can now dare vote against any such proposition. No prominent public man dare take ground openly and boldly against the policy thus foreshadowed, ruinous and fatal as they know it to be. Whoever does so is forthwith denounced as an enemy of the soldiers—a Rebel sympathizer—a traitor or a Copperhead more or less disguised. And an epithet or two of this sort is quite enough to silence any member who, in a rash moment, might have dreamed of consulting the public good.

Then, too, Mr. Blaine's proposition to transfer to the National Treasury all the debts incurred by States and counties in raising soldiers and prosecuting the war, is pretty certain sooner or later to become a law, and this will add not less than five hundred millions to the aggregate of the national debt. And lurking behind all these stands another class of claims, of which no man can estimate the amount—we mean the claims of loyal men, North and South, for property destroyed during the progress of war. These claims began to come in at the beginning of the first session of the last Congress, and were referred to the Committee on Claims, at the head of which was Hon. Columbus Delano, of Ohio, one of the ablest and most considerate men in public life.

So started was the Committee by the amount of these claims that they reported a resolution, which was forthwith adopted, that until otherwise ordered no claims of this character from the citizens of the Southern States should be entertained. But this was simply a temporary evasion of an inevitable duty. It was like shutting one's eyes to a danger too fearful to be faced. The Committee did not dare to let the country understand the extent of these claims,—which are perfectly just, and can no more be ignored than can the Seven-thirties or any other part of the public debt.

What the amount of these claims will prove in the end to be the country has no means of knowing. Mr. Delano has intimated two or three times, while urging vigorous measures of taxation in Congress, that they would be large enough to tax to the utmost the resources and courage of the whole country. And we have very good reason to believe that the amount of such of these claims as must be paid, will approach very nearly, if it does not equal, what is understood to be the present aggregate of the national debt. This may seem extravagant, as it is certainly alarming; but we believe time will show that it is not an over-estimate of the actual fact.

Congress, meantime, seems inclined to cut off one after another the sources of revenue whereby the interest on this gigantic debt, and the decrease of its principal, can alone be met. Twenty or twenty-five millions of the income tax were released at the last session. The tax on cotton, which yields twenty millions more, came within a very few votes of being abandoned. Every branch of manufactures clamors for release—and those which are the most powerful, and which are therefore the most important, are pretty sure to get it. The same interests demand protection from foreign competition to an extent which will cripple commerce, and eventually diminish its vast contribution to the public treasury—and experience shows that their demands are quite likely to be conceded.

Both Mr. Kelley and the *Tribune* may possess their souls in patience. They can lay aside all apprehensions of a rash and premature payment of the national debt. Both those gentlemen are much more certain to see it doubled than to see it paid. It will never probably be repudiated—that is, not by any formal vote or direct action of the Government. But voting additions to it, and refusing the taxation required to meet it, are methods of avoiding payment quite as effective as open repudiation. And the tendency towards both is strong already, and likely, under the pressure of party necessities and party recklessness, to become still stronger.

Congress and the President on the Details of Reconstruction.

A bill supplementary to the act of Congress providing "for the more efficient government of the Rebel States, and to facilitate their restoration," has been passed by the House of Representatives by 117 to 27, a strict party vote. It directs the commanding general in each of the five military districts into which the ten excluded States are divided, by the general act of March 2, to cause to be made before the 1st of September next a registration in such county or parish of the male citizens of the United States (whites and blacks) over twenty-one years of age, resident in each county or parish under the restrictions of the said general law, and who shall have taken a specified oath of loyalty, and that after such registration shall have been completed and copies thereof returned to the commanding general, he shall, within thirty days thereafter, cause an election to be held for delegates to form a

State Constitution, to re-establish a loyal State Government, according to said act of March 2, etc. The Constitution thus framed shall be held as adopted only with the approval of a majority of the registered voters, and with its approval by Congress, Senators and Representatives are to be admitted from such State. From the decisive vote by which this bill has passed the House, we conclude that it has been agreed upon by the dominant party, and will therefore become a law, veto or no veto. (*En passant*, we infer that the present session of Congress will be continued for at least two weeks longer, and perhaps three.) Under the regulations of this bill, we see nothing to prevent the restoration to Congress of every one of the ten States concerned in season to organize their parties and to participate actively in the Presidential election of 1868.

While this practical measure was under consideration in the House, the Senate was engaged in discussing a string of radical abstractions from Mr. Sumner, in the shape of further guarantees of Southern loyalty, including common schools and a homestead law. By a vote, however, of thirty-six to ten, this string of abstractions was laid upon the table—a very suggestive and satisfactory vote. In the negative, with Mr. Sumner, were the two Senators, Tipton and Thayer, from the new State of Nebraska (one a Union soldier and the other a Union chaplain during the war)—a vote which may be accepted as settling all doubts in reference to the political status of these two new acquisitions to the Senate. They are radicals of the Kansas-Nebraska school.

The President has selected the commanders of those five Southern military districts. General Grant promptly, on being requested to suggest a selection, proposed Generals Thomas, Sheridan, Ord and Sickles. It appears that Mr. Johnson had, without much difficulty, recognized the fitness of each of these officers for the important duties defined, except General Sheridan. In his case the idea that he knows nothing of statecraft and politics has been thrown out, with the hint that General Sherman would be better adapted for the special position proposed. This sort of special pleading, however, will not be held by the people of the great North as sufficient to justify the removal of Gen. Sheridan; for he is now, and has been for some time, in command of the military district embracing Louisiana and Texas, and has discharged his duties therein not only as a good soldier, but as a man who has proved himself a perfect master of statecraft in going honestly and straightforward in the work assigned him, and to the great end in view. The President will make a serious mistake in removing General Sheridan; for his removal, if made, will be attributed to other reasons than those of his alleged ignorance of "statecraft" or Southern politics. Throughout the loyal States, and General Grant, and perhaps, General Thomas, there is no officer of the army who would be more acceptable for the "statecraft" of the Presidency itself than "little Phil Sheridan." In any event these military commanders, under the express instructions of Congress, will have a plain line of duty before them, and as the results of their work are to be submitted to Congress, it will not require much "statecraft" beyond fidelity to the law to meet the responsibilities assigned them.

As for the ten excluded States, their leading and managing politicians will do well to remember that, with their restoration to Congress, and with the ratification of the pending Constitutional amendment and its proclamation as part of the supreme law of the land, all conflicting laws of Congress will be superseded, and every State will thus be left to decide for itself whether it will exclude the negro vote, or Southern politics. Throughout the loyal States, and General Grant, and perhaps, General Thomas, there is no officer of the army who would be more acceptable for the "statecraft" of the Presidency itself than "little Phil Sheridan." In any event these military commanders, under the express instructions of Congress, will have a plain line of duty before them, and as the results of their work are to be submitted to Congress, it will not require much "statecraft" beyond fidelity to the law to meet the responsibilities assigned them.

The Moral Guilt of Rebellion.

As we expected and intended, our article of Monday evokesulations of horror from the Republican press. As a means of "holding the mirror up to nature" to "show vice her own deformity," the article has precisely the kind of success which we wished. It is not we, Messrs. Republicans, it is you that defame and disparage Washington. Well may you stand aghast, well may you hold up your hands in horror, when we disclose the consequences of your own principles.

For our part, we are in hearty accord with the zealous and admiring homage paid to the character of Washington by good men of all nations. We regard him as the brightest exemplar the world has ever seen of, high and consummate public virtue; and, in our estimation, there is nothing which does so much credit to human nature, nothing which so hopefully attests the real moral progress of mankind as the consecration in all hearts of the name of such a man. There have been men enough who have smitten the cultivated with the charm of genius—men more than enough who have dazzled the multitude with the glare of military exploits; but Washington is one of the very few, and of those few the most illustrious, who, in public stations and in the discharge of public functions, have won the reverential love of all classes of men by the pure lustre of their virtues. If the homage paid to him to put confidence in the moral judgment they are capable of forming, for no moral judgment ever formed by men has been more deliberately thoughtful and sincere.

If this fall, The pillared firmament is rottenness, And earth's base built on rubbish, and decay. If, therefore, anything can be safely assumed as a solid basis of moral reasoning, it is the character of Washington. If anybody disputes the moral greatness of Washington, it is as idle to reason with him on moral questions as it would be to reason on poetry with one who disputed that Shakespeare was a great poet, or on art if he disputed that Raphael was a great painter, or on eloquence if

he denied the merits of Chatham. But concede to us, as a postulate not to be disputed, that Washington was great, and that the peculiarity of his greatness consisted in high and peerless virtue, and we ask no other premises for abating the pretensions of the so-called "party of great ideas."

The occasion for making this use of his fame consists in the fact that the Constitution is practically abolished, and reasoning founded upon it no longer makes any impression. It is, therefore, necessary to recur to first principles; to go back to those sound and sure moral instincts by which minds unclouded by transient passions recognize and reward conspicuous virtue. The appreciation of Washington has been too extensive, too durable, too uniform, too deliberate, to be accounted for as a fitful effervescence and frenzy, like the popular delusions which sometimes seize upon a community, and spread as a temporary contagion. If the bigotry of the present excited and passionate period is in clear conflict with the calm and settled moral judgment of mankind, it should be classed with the delusion which crazed Europe over the Crusades, or that which, at a more modern period, ran wild over the South Sea Bubble. We are accused of a "black-handed" method of championing the South. The article on Washington was so transparent that nobody who read it could have missed its aim—the method adopted being obviously a device to gain attention to a subject on which public feeling has grown torpid. As to the charge of championing the South, we admit it, and are willing to be judged by the standards accepted by enlightened historians and moralists. *Debellare superbo et parvo subjecto*—vigor in war, but mercy to the prostrate—is an old Roman maxim which has become a modern proverb, because it has its roots in the moral nature of man. To trample upon the fallen is base; and all unpurged minds instinctively regard it as base. A man infuriated by passion may continue to deal blows upon his disabled foe, but it shocks the sense of manhood and fair play, and honorable bystanders spontaneously cry "Shame!" If they consider the original merits of the quarrel while such baseness is enacted before them, their humanity seeks out the circumstances of extenuation. The howling declaimers who fan the fury by which Congress is backed in its tyranny, descend perpetually on three charges, viz.—That the South is a community demoralized by slaveholding; that they were Rebels; and that many of their leaders had previously sworn allegiance to the United States. These three circumstances form the whole stock-in-trade of the infuriated ralers against the South; and yet every one of these charges is a shaft shot straight at the character of Washington. He, too, was a slaveholder, a rebel, a disregarder of a previous oath of allegiance. Twist and wriggle as they will, it is impossible for the radicals to gainay these facts. They must admit, then, that the furious accusations with which they bludgeon and vilify the South, contain only charges which may be consistent with the brightest and purest virtue, or else the ralers fly in the face of the settled moral judgment of the world. To justify the vindictive measures adopted by the radicals, it is necessary to prove something more than past slaveholding, past rebellion, or past disregard of oaths of allegiance, unless they are prepared to replace the eulogies of Washington by execrations. The mere fact of rebellion, or oath-breaking, etc., goes for nothing; it is only the circumstances in which the Southern Rebels differ from Washington that can be fairly urged to their disadvantage. All the habitual topics of declamation must be flung out as irrelevant, and the tremendous severity practised upon the prostrate must be justified on other grounds, or it cannot be justified at all. It is not the circumstances in which the Southern people resemble Washington, but the circumstances in which they differ from him that must constitute the guilt which cries aloud for vengeance.

As the oath-breaking is erected into the most odious of all the charges (the disfranchisement of Sherman's bill resting solely on that), it is incumbent on the radicals to point out circumstances of discrimination, which render the oath-breaking of the South more heinous than that of Washington. There is, indeed, a broad discrimination between the two; but it does not tell in Washington's favor. That there must be somewhere a power of absolving from such oaths will, we suppose, be generally admitted. It is not our business to discuss the moral aspect of the question in the least. A man acquits himself from moral blame by acting according to his honest convictions. Mistakes of the intellect are not chargeable upon the conscience. If the South had been correct as to the proper location of the ultimate sovereignty, no man capable of forming an opinion on such a subject will say that the Rebellion had not a solid moral justification. The mistake of the South, therefore, did not involve moral guilt, but only intellectual error. The Southern people believed, in their consciences, that their respective States could rightfully absolve them from their Federal allegiance. The infuriated, unscrupulous radicals, overlooking this central and controlling fact, insist on treating the South as if a mere mistake of the intellect, the necessary fruit of a perverted political education, were a heinous and inexplicable moral crime. Nothing could be more unjust, libellous, or more stupidly intolerant and bigoted. That the South has frankly recanted its error, after submitting it to the test and arbitration of arms, should be deemed—after the terrible sufferings the South has undergone—a sufficient expiation of its error.

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FINANCIAL. PENNSYLVANIA STATE LOAN. PROPOSALS FOR A LOAN OF \$23,000,000. AN ACT TO CREATE A LOAN FOR THE REDEMPTION OF THE OVERDUE BONDS OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

Whereas, The bonds of the Commonwealth and certain certificates of indebtedness, amounting to TWENTY-THREE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, have been overdue and unpaid for some time past; And whereas, It is desirable that the same should be paid, and withdrawn from the market; therefore,

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That the Governor, Auditor-General, and State Treasurer be, and are hereby, authorized and empowered to borrow, on the faith of the Commonwealth, in such amounts and with such notice (not less than forty days) as they may deem most expedient for the interest of the State, twenty-three millions of dollars, and to issue certificates of loan or bonds of the Commonwealth for the same, bearing interest at a rate not exceeding six per centum per annum, payable semi-annually on the 1st of February and 1st of August, in the city of Philadelphia; such certificates of loan or bonds shall not be subject to any taxation whatsoever for State, municipal, or local purposes, and shall be payable as follows, namely:—Five millions of dollars payable at any time after five years, and within ten years after ten years, and within fifteen years after fifteen years, and at any time after fifteen years, and within twenty years after twenty years, and within twenty-five years after twenty-five years, and within thirty years after thirty years, and within thirty-five years after thirty-five years, and within forty years after forty years, and within forty-five years after forty-five years, and within fifty years after fifty years, and within fifty-five years after fifty-five years, and within sixty years after sixty years, and within sixty-five years after sixty-five years, and within seventy years after seventy years, and within seventy-five years after seventy-five years, and within eighty years after eighty years, and within eighty-five years after eighty-five years, and within ninety years after ninety years, and within ninety-five years after ninety-five years, and within one hundred years after one hundred years, and within one hundred and five years after one hundred and five years, and within one hundred and 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